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any member of the League if such member or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire, united with it politically has voted.

"(15) In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations."

## AN AGRARIAN-JUNKER FLARE-UP FAILS —"THE RED TERROR" APPEARS

On March 13, with no bloodshed, control of the government of Germany in the national capital passed from the Ebert Ministry to one which had back of it the Junker and military parties. The armed forces that brought this result to pass were commanded by General Baron von Luettwitz, who as soon as the new government was proclaimed was made commander-in-chief of the army by Chancellor Wolfgang Kapp.

The text of the proclamation issued on the 13th by Chancellor and Premier Kapp was as follows:

"The overthrow of the (Ebert) government must not be taken as a reactionary step imposed upon the country. It is a progressive measure of patriotic Germans of all parties with a view to re-establishing law, order, discipline, and honest government in Germany.

"It is an overdue attempt to lay the foundations for the economic resuscitation of Germany, enabling her to fulfill those conditions of the Peace Treaty of Versailles which are reasonable and not self-destructive.

"Inspired by a zeal and desire for the benefit of the whole German people, they (the organizers of the revolution) have invited and heartily accept the co-operation of the Independents for the creation and elaboration of laws for the benefit of the working classes.

"Neither Germany nor Europe can continue to exist under present conditions. The government now happily suppressed overburdened our people with taxation grievous to bear, while it utterly failed to create conditions conducive to increased conditions.

"Under the cloak of deceitful catch-words and popular phrases, they (the members of the Ebert Cabinet) constituted in deed and in truth a reactionary government. They proclaimed the freedom of the press, but all the time they suppressed the papers which dared to criticise them.

"They proclaimed the freedom of the individual, but they continually arrested people for political opinions.

"They loudly proclaimed that the republic is and must be a rule by the people, yet they refused, in flagrant violation of our constitution, to dissolve the national assembly and appeal to the electorate.

"Last but not least, a government whose chief spokesman is a man like Erzberger must be swept aside. Our people are groaning under intolerable conditions.

"The high cost of living and the difficulty of obtaining sufficient food have created dishonest trading and reprehensible practices to an extent not fully appreciated in foreign countries.

"We are on the brink of economic and moral collapse.

"If the world is really convinced of the necessity of rebuilding economic Germany—and that such is the case we have been fully assured during the past week or two—then they (the other nations) will welcome the substitution of an honest government for a dishonest one.

"But be this as it may, the change of government is a purely internal and purely German question, which concerns only the German people.

"At the same time we readily recognize that foreign countries have a vital interest in not having a government in Germany which would or might in any way endanger the peace of Europe.

"The present government is bent upon preserving both internal and external peace, and to prevent a recurrence of the mistakes of the past or a return to the methods of the government now happily defunct and obsolete.

"(Signed) **WOLFGANG KAPP,**  
*"Imperial Chancellor and Premier of Prussia."*

It is important to note that this proclamation came from an official of Prussia, still endeavoring to speak authoritatively, as of yore, for Germany, whereas as a matter of fact conditions prior to this counter-revolution had revealed a distinct unwillingness of many of the States of the former empire to submit longer to Prussia domination, and this proclamation from the first was relatively ineffective in south Germany.

When President Ebert withdrew from Berlin on the 13th, taking with him most of his cabinet and especially his Minister of Defense, Herr Noske, he first went to Dresden and later to Stuttgart. From the former city, in behalf of the Socialist Republic, he issued the following proclamation, calling for a general strike:

"**WORKMEN, COMRADES:** The military revolt has come. Erhardt's naval division is marching on Berlin to enforce the reorganization of the imperial government. The mercenary troops, who were afraid of the disbandment which had been ordered, desire to put the reactionaries into the ministerial posts.

"We refuse to bow to this military constraint. We did not make the revolution in order to recognize again today the bloody government of mercenaries. We enter into no covenant with the Baltic criminals. Workmen, comrades, we should be ashamed to look you in the face if we were capable of acting otherwise.

"We say, 'No!' And again, 'No!' You must indorse what we have done. We carried out your views. Now use every means to destroy this return of bloody reaction.

"*Strike. Cease to work. Throttle this military dictatorship. Fight with all your means for the preservation of the republic. Put aside all division. There is only one means against the return of Wilhelm II. Paralyze all economic life. Not a hand must move. No proletariat shall help the military dictatorship.*

"Let there be a general strike along the entire line. Let the proletariat act as a unit."

The manifesto was signed by President Ebert, Premier Bauer, Gustav Noske, the Minister of Defense; Herr Schlike, the Minister of Labor; Dr. Schmidt, the Minister of Food; Dr. Eduard David, minister without portfolio, and Dr. Herman Mueller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Social Democratic members of the government, and by Otto Wels for the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party.

On the 14th Chancellor Kapp issued a statement promising to order an election of a new Reichstag as soon as order was restored, and adding that emergency decrees would only be issued to protect the economic life of the country against usurious exploitation and corruption. He promised that the trial of the prisoners at Leipsic would proceed and that the censorship would be relaxed.

This transformation of the German situation, presaging a possible return of the monarchy and at best a civil war in Germany, at once forced Marshal Foch and the Allies to a conference, held in Paris on the 15th, after which he traveled Rhineward, toward the troops which might be used to invade Germany were the decision so to do once made. M. Millerand, the French premier, improved the opportunity to reiterate that France now more than ever expected the full terms of the Versailles Treaty to be kept, and would the more steadfastly resist any attempt of her Allies to modify

those demands or make it easier for Germany to "come back."

In Holland steps were at once taken by the government to guard with stricter care the former German Emperor and prevent any escape or collusive action with the Kapp Ministry.

British official and journalistic opinion from the first was somewhat sceptical as to the success of the revolt; but it did not overlook precautions of a military and naval sort.

By the 15th the general strike ordered by Ebert was beginning to show its head and clashes between the group in power and the group recently ejected had begun. Not only did the railway workers make it clear to the Kapp government that they were opposed to them; they also asserted their intention to co-operate in putting an end to transportation.

On the 15th and 16th evidence accumulated that neither General Hindenburgh nor General Ludendorff could be counted upon by the Kapp Ministry to assume any responsibility for the uprising or share any of its perils. The anti-Prussian sentiment of the States of middle and south Germany came to the surface in a variety of ways, and all the time Noske kept marshaling a military force that was irresistible. Moreover, even in Berlin the Ebert authority was still so strong with the subordinates that he had left behind that they refused to take orders from Kapp or to pay from the treasury his drafts for payment of his troops.

On the 17th Kapp, the self-appointed chancellor, resigned, in terms intimating that negotiations between his group and the Ebert government had been under way and with some success, and also indicating the dread felt of the "Red Terror" or Spartacist uprisings. The text of the official communique follows:

"The Bauer government, having voluntarily decided to fulfill the most essential political demands addressed to it, the rejection of which on Saturday led to the establishment of the Kapp government, Chancellor Kapp considers his mission fulfilled and retires, with the object of bringing about internal peace.

"General von Luttwitz has retired for similar reasons.

"In this they are moved by the conviction of the extreme necessity of the fatherland, which demands solid union of all against the annihilating danger of Bolshevism."

The basis of the agreement referred to in this statement is said to have been the following points:

- First. Reichstag elections to be held in June at the latest.
- Second. An imperial president to be elected in accordance with the Constitution by the people.
- Third. Thorough reorganization of the Imperial government.

Coincident with these acts by the more conservative elements of the population were others by the Communists and Independent Socialists of the extreme left that by the time the Kapp revolt failed had forced on Ebert and his Ministry a far more grave problem, namely, control or suppression of groups urging substitution of the Soviet form of government. In Westphalia, the Ruhr district, Saxony, and wherever there were large industrial centers, "councils of workmen" had endeavored to secure control of local government and had succeeded in some cases. In Berlin itself, on the night of the 17th, a struggle between the forces of the Spartacists and the government began. Citizens began to pack their goods and prepare for flight. The trades-unionists of the city forwarded to President Ebert the terms on which they would stand for peace. They were:

- Resignation of Gustav Noske as Minister of Defense.
- Sentencing of the militarist plotters for high treason—which means death.
- No amnesty for the militarists.
- Retirement of the troops from Berlin.
- Co-operation of the trade unions in forming a new government.

## MILITARISM—PRO AND CON.

*The glory of military training* is brought vividly to consciousness by the following, clipped from the *Congressional Record* of February 17, 1920:

MR. GORE: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the *Record* a letter from Mr. H. H. Gross, of Chicago, to farmers of Oklahoma, and an answer to that letter from the president of the State Farmers' Union, Hon. John Simpson.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: Without objection, it is so ordered.

The letter is as follows:

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING LEAGUE,  
CHICAGO, January 19, 1920.

MR. D. K. HIEBERT,  
Weatherford, Okla.

DEAR SIR: I thank you very much for your letter of the 15th. I think I will have it framed and hang it in my office as a literary production. If there were not so many misspelled words in it and so many meaningless sentences, one might have some respect for your opinion.

I question very much whether you have a copy of the bill, or, if you have, whether your judgment would be good regarding it. The American Legion, representing 4,000,000 boys, at their convention in Minneapolis, indorsed universal training. State after State convention did the same thing. I sent out circular letters to hundreds of boys in different parts of the country, and 95 per cent were favorable to the proposition. You do not know what you are talking about!

I know this: There is a definite and vicious propaganda being carried forward, with Russian and probably German money, to break down the morale of the American people, lull them into a sense of false security by the statement that there are to be no more wars, and that we may as well chance the future as we did the past, and an effort is being made to get in their work in the various industries.

By the way, I was told a few days ago that quite a number of men in your neck of the woods came pretty nearly going to jail for attempting to interfere with the selective draft. Do you know who they are?

As to the merits of the question, the administration favors universal military and vocational training. General Pershing does so, and every military man in the country. The Members of Congress who have been on the committees and spent months in investigating the subject all know it is the thing to do. Some of them are afraid of their constituents and so hesitate.

Do you not think you are assuming a great deal to pass arbitrarily upon one of the great questions of the world, that is being urged by men who are 100 per cent loyal—men of experience, men who know enough to realize that the safety of this nation requires that it should be in a position to defend itself, and if it is in that position no other nation will trouble it?

I hope you know more about farming than you know about legislation. As far as I am concerned, this ends our correspondence; say what you like or do what you please.

Yours truly,

H. H. GROSS, President.

FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND  
CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA,  
OKLAHOMA DIVISION, February 9, 1920.

MR. HOWARD H. GROSS,  
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of January 19 to Mr. D. K. Hiebert, of Corn, Okla., is a splendid illustration of the arrogance